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A FEW ZUNI DEATH BELIEFS AND PRACTICES

By ELSIE CLEWS PARSONS

AMONG the A'shiwi as among all peoples of early culture there are a large number of what we may call social causes of death, death from breaking taboo or custom, death from failing to resort to the orthodox remedy, and death from witchcraft. General discussion of death or disease from witchcraft I must reserve for the future. In the intricacies and ramifications of Zuni black magic I am as yet too unlearned to speak. I may note, however, that the last two epidemics at Zuni, a smallpox epidemic in 1898-9 and an epidemic of measles in 1910-11, were both ascribed to witchcraft. The two men held responsible, both youngish men at the time they were accused, are still living in Zuni—thanks probably to outside intervention. The story goes that in the smallpox case the American school teacher got in a detachment of American soldiers to protect the "witch." He was saved,¹ but at Pescado some of the soldiers and some of their horses died of poisoned water.² The medicineman who poisoned the water is now dead. It was his disciple, consequently a legitimate medicineman³ I infer, who was accused of causing the measles epidemic. He was so pestered³ to "confess" that finally his family begged him to "say something" and he did finally say he had "done something"⁴

¹ He had actually been hung up by his thumbs, the Zuni method of witch execution.

² Tactics practised also against the Spaniards in the seventeenth century. (Cushing, F. H. "Zuni Creation Myths," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, XIII, 1891-2, p. 331. The springs were poisoned with yucca juice and cactus spines and "with the death-magic of corpse shells." The "big shell medicine" was used in the second instance, two hundred years later.

³ The priests themselves are open to charges of witchcraft. See Stevenson, M. C. "The Zuni Indians," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*, XXIII, 1901-2, p. 393.

³ The accused is tortured, Dr. Hrdlička believes, until he confesses. Then he is merely exiled. Obduracy in confessing means death. (Bull. 34, p. 168. *Bur. Amer. Ethnol.*) I also heard of several Zuni in exile charged with witchcraft.

⁴ What, I unfortunately did not learn.

to cause the bloody diarrhoeal discharge that had been characteristic of the disease.¹ Fortunately for him, after his "confession" he was smuggled out of Zuñi for a few weeks to a settlement where the same epidemic had not been so fatal—there were too many Americans living there, it was said, and witches have no influence over Americans, Americans are "raw," they are *kwa akna* (*kwa*, not, *akna* cooked), i.e., their mothers have not been confined on the heated sand bed² Zuñi women lie in on.

Zuñi women lie in a stated number of days, four, eight, ten, or twelve³ according to the custom of their family. Were a woman to fail to observe the customary term she would "dry up," grow thin and die. Failure to observe conjugal continence during the four days before plume planting and the four days afterwards would also mean death. Does not the planter of plumes promise when he or she plants his plumes⁴ to be continent, observing the decree of the Sun Father? Of his deputy, the *pekwin*, the Sun Father requires an even greater degree of continence. For one month after the harvests the *pekwin* may have intercourse with his wife, if he wants

¹ Severe abdominal massage is a favorite therapeutic measure of the Zuñi medicine-man and to it in particular the American physician in charge of the reservation ascribed the high mortality of this epidemic. There were over ninety deaths.

Abdominal massage is practised, at least when the patient is supposed to be near death, because "there is something in the stomach which keeps a person alive. Kneading keeps it from running away."

² Whether or not as part of this *cooking* is included the heated stone continually kept in position on the mother's abdomen or the hot decoctions she has to drink I do not know.

A Zuñi woman told me *she* believed these measures were to check the return of the menses and so preclude conception.

³ One of my informants, a woman, stated that at her confinement her mother-in-law who in accordance with Zuñi custom was to look after her, ascertained from her mother that twelve days was the confinement period for her family. It happened to be the same term for the family of her mother-in-law. Another informant, on the other hand, an elderly man, said he had never heard of a twelve day confinement period.

⁴ All the initiated, i. e., all men, for every boy is initiated into the *ko'tikili*, and such women who have been initiated into that body or into the fraternities, all have to plant their plume sticks once a month, some time after the new moon. In connection with ceremonials, with remarriage, with looking after a corpse, with ceremonial hunting or foot-racing, with taking a journey, in short with almost any significant undertaking prayer plumes are planted. A married couple will plant them at the same time, in fact will go together to plant them, I was told, by a somewhat Americanized woman.

The same woman told me that continence was observed only after plume planting.

it;¹ but the rest of the year he is to abstain. The position of *pekwin* is at present vacant;² four or five months ago, in April, 1915, the *pekwin* died, a victim, it is said, to broken taboo. His relations to his wife were too intimate.³

Were a person to remarry too soon, i. e., within the Zuñi year,—it is the six months reckoned from solstice to solstice,—the stomach of the remarrying or of the person he or she marries would swell up and he or she would die. The remarrying at any time must observe certain formalities. After the first sleep with the second spouse, he or she should give something of value to the remarrying, this together with some belonging of the remarrying one should be cast away in the street early in the morning. Whoever would pick up and appropriate these articles should first kick them with the left foot four times, then wave over them four times a piece of cedarbark held in the left hand. Meanwhile the remarrying and the second spouse cut and plant prayer plumes. After four days they again cut and plant plumes. During these eight days they remain continent, the first four days for the deceased, the second four days each for himself or herself.

In connection with many ceremonials the *ko'yemshi* "gods" visit from house to house to collect food. Were they refused, "something would happen," something "bad" even if you refused them merely "in your mind." A house was pointed out to me which they had on one occasion approached only to be locked out. The woman had nothing at hand, but her refusal was particularly flagrant because she was one the *ko'yemshi* had called *an tsita*, "the mother," having worked for her and her household⁴ during the year. In

¹ It was implied that at first he might want it, but that he would learn to get on without it. He and his wife continue to sleep on the same pallet, merely having separate covers. This arrangement holds too for the more restricted periods of conjugal continence prescribed for other people.

² And it will be hard to fill, I heard. I noted too that the position of *shiwankia* (*shiwani*, rain priest, *okia*, woman) has been vacant for several years. One of the women who has declined it said she would not be so tied down. If her husband had to leave the pueblo to work she would wish to go along with him.

On October 14, 1915 a *pekwin* was installed.

³ I have since learned that after the death of his first wife he was twice remarried, an indulgence also criticised.

⁴ It was their dedicated *sha'leko* house.

less time than the *ko'yemshi* needed to return to the pueblo,—the house in question was a little outlying,—a child in the house was burned, burned so badly that next day it died. In one of the most distinguished families in Zuñi there are two men blind of one eye. The middle-aged of the two, a *sha'leko worle* in the *ohewa kiwitsine*,¹ lost his eye as a result of smallpox; the elderly man, a medicineman in the *ne'wekwe* fraternity, lost his in an accident from a horse.² But both are supposed to have suffered for criticisms made by them against the *ko'yemshi*.

On his children's account a man should at no time kill a snake, but were he to kill one during his wife's pregnancy the child would be born spotted like a snake and would die. Curing by the principle of inoculative magic, the principle so much relied upon in other mishaps during pregnancy, this principle would not in this case apply. It does apply, however, to another snake belief in connection with infancy. If the cord of the new-born infant "runs," it is because, it is believed, some one who has been bitten by a snake has been in the room. That person must be found and must then proceed to wave some ashes four times around the heads of mother and child—otherwise the child will die.

Were a pregnant woman to look upon a corpse her child would be still-born, or, born alive, would soon pine away.³ We may note in this connection that the women who have cared for a corpse should not touch the children of their households during the four days of their "quarantine." It is said that families who buy a child or sell

¹ Each of the six *kiwitsine* or sacred club-houses supplies annually a personator for the sacred personage called the *sha'leko*. *Worle* means manager. The position is permanent.

² The *kuku* (father's sister or clanswoman) of one of last year's *kóyemshi* is poor. She lives with her elder brother and a little sister. When the brother heard that their kinsman had taken the office of *kóyemshi*, he grumbled, knowing that a *kóyemshi* has to receive presents from his *kuku*. "Why didn't he think of us?" complained the brother. Within the year the complainer was kicked in the eye by a horse so badly that the doctor had to sew him up.

Among the Navajo injury through a horse is believed to betoken persecution by some unseen power. So are snake bites and lightning strokes. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 379. (The Franciscan Fathers, St. Michaels, Arizona, 1910.)

³ Cp. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 366.

one will become extinct. My informant said she had known of three families¹ who had taken this risk and all three were now almost extinct.

Persons who have been struck or shocked by lightning² should be given the rain water of that same storm to drink (another instance of inoculative magic), plus black beetle and suet, otherwise they will surely die. About three years ago a house on the south bank of the river was struck and the three women inmates failed to observe the proper measure of safety. The following summer two of them died and the third died this year. Properly doctored survivors are qualified by their experience to become medicinemen or women.

Different ailments or diseases are treated by the medicine members of the different fraternities, they are specialists so to speak, and there exists a deep-rooted custom of "giving"³ the patient either to the fraternity⁴ or the household of his or her doctor. Without this dedication it is believed that the patient would die. Complementariwise, if a parent were to express a wish to have his or her child join a fraternity,⁵ "something would happen." A person runs the risk of death also if, having had a "bad dream," he or she fail to be whipped and to join the fraternity of the whipper.⁶

¹ Two had bought a captive Mexican girl from the Apache, the third a Hopi girl, from her starving family.

² Wood struck by lightning is used for the fetiches of the twin war gods. Did not the Sun, their father, impregnate the spring that bubbled up out of the spot that had been struck by lightning?

³ The promise is made before the cure, "when they need the help." The time for fulfilling it appears not to be set. A woman I know who had been dedicated to the Stick Swallowers fraternity at the time of the smallpox epidemic was not initiated until two or three years ago. Part of that time she had been away at school or in the employ of Americans. She was accounted the one convert of the Dutch Reformed Church Missionary at Zúñi—until she was initiated.

⁴ For example, persons suffering from gun shot wounds must be attended by medicinemen of the Cactus fraternity.

⁵ It is the rule that if a member of a fraternity is hit, however accidentally, on his penis when he is "sacred" the hitter must join his fraternity. The last man to be taken into the *ne'wekwe* fraternity was initiated about twelve years ago under such circumstances. One mother of my acquaintance is careful not to let her little boys play at such times about the persons of her fraternity visitors. The attitude in general about joining fraternities appears to me one of reluctance, but this is a matter needing study.

⁶ If there is a dance on, one of the dancers will be selected as whipper. "Of course he becomes the ceremonial father" or initiator.

By no means have I recounted all the social causes of death, even one with a much greater knowledge of the Zuñi than I have, would probably overlook many of them; but I must pass on to other death beliefs and practices, to conceptions of the life after death. These conceptions are of the usual contradictory, inconsistent character. The dead are the rain-makers for their people and yet they dwell themselves not in the heavens but in *ko'tuwala*, a region below the Sacred Lake, the lake sixty-five miles to the southwest of Zuñi. There again although their life is just about the same as at Zuñi, families and households being reunited, the representatives of the *ko'ko* or gods are supposed to live separate—in a four-storied dwelling on the side of a hill.¹

In *ko'tuwala* reunions it is the first wife or husband a man or woman lives with.² Was there any evidence, I asked, that formerly a woman would accompany her deceased husband to *ko'tuwala*? No, but there was a story of a man who went there to find his wife. He found her and she was allowed to return with him on condition that none would cry out on her return. As she stepped, however, on the last rung of the ladder coming up into the world an old woman caught sight of her and cried out. Straightway the *revenante* was changed into an owl and flew away.

There is no punishment after death, I was repeatedly told. It is the survival theory—with one exception. The violators of clan exogamy, the incestuous if there were such, but no instance of incest had ever been known, the incestuous would be burned at *ko'tuwala*. "Surely, a Mexican belief," I remarked. "No, Zuñi." Nevertheless, it is difficult not to see in this belief the hell-fires of the Spanish Catholics lighting up the most stringent part of the native code of morals,³ and that this sanction should attach to incest and to incest

¹ Is this by any chance a reminiscence of pristine cliff-dwelling, a reminiscence associated as one might expect with the most conservative part of their tradition, their ancestral cult?

² I might not be the first wife of my first husband, I once pointed out. He would have to live with his first wife, was the rejoinder, but it was made in such a way as to suggest that that conflict in theory had never been thought of before.

³ The Hopi have also a belief in post-mortem fire tests or cleansings. (Hough, W. *The Hopi Indians*, p. 129. Cedar Rapids, 1915.)

only is in itself far from an insignificant fact.¹ The punishment, I should add, would not befall one marrying into his father's clan, a marriage nevertheless disapproved of.²

While a person is dying food is cast for him on the fire and food is put into his mouth³—"because it is the last meal." The corpse is straightway placed with the head to the east, the idea being that thus the deceased faces *ko'luwala*.

During the four days it takes the deceased to journey to *ko-luwala* the mourners, i. e., all the household members do not buy or sell, the house door is left ajar, and the bowl used to wash the corpse and the tools used to bury it are left on the roof. This washing and burying have been done by the nearest relatives in the clan of the father of the deceased,⁴ the washing by *an wowa*, the father's mother, and *an kuku*, the father's sister, or in their default by two other clanswomen, the burying by the father's brothers (*an adachu* or *an apapa*) or by two other clansmen. Women do not go to the burial excepting the *wowa* of a deceased infant. She will carry her grandchild to the cemetery. Parents would not touch their deceased offspring. The clansmen have to dig the grave bare-foot. The flap of the blanket in which the corpse has been carried is turned back from off the face and directly on to the face the soil is thrown. In the grave too the corpse is placed with head to the

¹ I note too that the incestuous brother and sister of the Zuñi creation myths are punished, in one version, by the great flood, the flood in which so many of the children and their parents too were drowned, the brother and sister having to remain with the drowned ones. It was this pair too who were the parents of the *ko'yemshi*, idiot, immature offspring. But whether those traits were looked upon as a punishment or not I failed to make out.

The Navajo believe that incest is the cause of mental derangement. *An Ethnologic Dictionary of the Navaho Language*, p. 350.

² It would be jeered at. "You are no better than a dog or a burro," would be the taunt. The woman who told me this spoke from experience. Child of the Parrot clan, i. e., her father, a Parrot, she had married a Parrot, but the marriage did not "stick." Nor did she make any mention of it to me. The ethnographer like other social students may learn more at times from the unspoken than the spoken.

³ Cp. Stevenson, p. 314. The lips and eyelids are pressed together *after* death, I was assured, not, as Mrs. Stevenson states, before. And the kneading of the abdomen is, as already noted, to keep back the spirit, not to dispatch it. (*Ib.*, p. 315.)

⁴ Both functions are in charge too of the father's clan. In fact many clan kinship functions at Zuñi are functions of the father's clan.

east.¹ Zuñi will not go to sleep, we may note, thus orientated. A child falling asleep careless of this rule will be asked "Why do you wish to sleep like a dead person?"

In the ancient Spanish cemetery there stands a high wooden cross. On the south side of this cross the men are buried, on the north the women. Again I asked, "Is this custom Mexican or 'Zuñi'?"² And why do you separate the sexes?" "Because it is to the men we pray for rain, not to the women."

With the human bones that lie scattered here and there in the cemetery are a few potsherds; but whatever may once have been the practice, the pottery and the other valuables of the deceased are now buried separate, at a certain spot on the bank of the river below the town.³ Some things are burned⁴—the "comforters," for example, the deceased has used. The best clothes or blankets or jewelry are buried on the corpse. The father's people (*an da'kwik-we*) are expected to contribute a burial blanket or shawl. The dying

¹ Prayer plumes are planted pointing to the east.

² In this connection the sexuality of the six directions is of interest. Among the Hopi, north, south, and zenith are male; east, west, and nadir, female. A Zuñi rain priest told me that north, east, and zenith were male; south, west, and nadir female. The differentiation might be accounted for by the fact that the Zuñi Sacred Lake is female and that it lies to the southwest. In fact the daughter of the aforesaid rain priest did thus account for south being female. I must say, however, that other and more creditable persons said that sex was never imputed to the six directions. The matter needs further study. But I mention it now having in mind that *if* south is female and north male the cemetery distribution suggests a Spanish rather than a Zuñi origin.

Mrs. Nuttall states that in Nahuatl the west is *Cihuallampa*, "the place or part of the women" and that the souls of the women who earned immortality were supposed to go there. Men's souls went to the east (*Archaeol. and Ethnol. Papers Peabody Mus.*, II (1901), 38). In the arrangement of monuments about the plaza at Quirigua the north end holds the monuments of men, the south end those of women (Hewett, E. L., in *Art and Archaeology*, II (1915), 82).

³ Was this place perhaps the pre-Spanish general burial place? Zuñi river is supposed to convoy the buried things to the Sacred Lake. I have yet to undertake an analysis of spirit concepts.

⁴ Bulky things, was the rationalistic comment. The Spaniards reported both burial and cremation customs, a co-existence Cushing accounts for on his theory of the dual origin of the A'shiwi. The northern cliff-dwelling stock buried, the intrusive western stock burned. (*Zuñi Creation Myths*, pp. 365-6.)

The Hopi, it is said, have never burned their dead. For four days they place bowls of food on the grave. (Hough, p. 130.)

may ask not to have the finest jewelry buried with him or her—an interesting modification, and one met elsewhere, in the practice of funerary destruction. The funerary disposal is being modified too in connection with American goods. In one household was pointed out to me the porcelain cup that had been used¹ in caring for a grandmother now deceased. On the wall hung the cane the grandfather, dead too, had acquired on a visit to Washington.² Just as the goods of the stranger are not allowed to be used, as we know, in conservative ceremonial, so the old practice or theory is not applied to such goods,³ a line of least resistance the innovating administrator would do well to follow.

Perhaps the most striking illustration of "new goods, new customs" that will be notable in the future at Zuñi will be in the matter of portrait photographs. The rationalizing reason given the American for the unwillingness to be photographed is that after death the photograph will be there to remind the survivors of the deceased. To one another the Zuñi are content with saying that if they are photographed they will die. The possible connection in thought here is interesting,⁴ but I am mentioning the subject for

¹ To what extent the cup is now in use I cannot say, but it stands apparently undistinguished among other well used articles on a table in the living room. The woman who showed it to me was much amused, really amused, by the idea one of my questions suggested, the idea that her pots and pans would have to be buried with her. But whether her sense of incongruity was stirred because several of the utensils were American made or because such objects were buried, when buried at all, on the river bank, I do not know.

A like feeling of amusement was stirred in an old man when I asked him on which side of the cemetery a *la'mana* or "man-woman" would be buried? "On the men's side of course," he smiled. A sense of the ridiculous incongruity is not peculiar to the "civilized."

² In every pueblo, we remember, the governor's cane of office, one of the famous Lincoln-given canes, is preserved.

³ The fact that their own ceremonial is not applied to them either, i. e., taken over with them, may have far reaching consequences. See Veblen, Thorstein. *Imperial Germany and the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 35-6. New York and London, 1915.

⁴ Is it because the prime object of a photograph seems to the Zuñi mind to recall the dead—the living having no use for it—hence to have your picture taken is to anticipate dying, just as to express a wish to join a fraternity is, as we have noted, to cause "something to happen"?

There is perhaps a simpler explanation, one suggested in a myth reported by Cushing. Bereaved mothers grieve for their lost children, unaware that the children are in

another reason, for its implication that after death memory of the deceased is not to be cherished. When American portrait photography really becomes established in Zuñi the attitude towards the memory of the dead will be necessarily affected. At present the disposition to disinfection and the attitude of prompt forgetfulness are marked. Not only is the property that may recall the deceased destroyed, but emetics are taken by the corpse bearers on their return from the cemetery and baths or hair washes by the other survivors.¹ If those who have handled the corpse subsequently, i. e., within a day or so feel unwell they inhale the smoke of piñon gum.² If in dying the deceased has "frightened" anyone, a lock of his hair may be cut off and burned³ for the frightened one to inhale. Again if the deceased is thought of much by a survivor or dreamed of, the smoking piñon gum is inhaled. The name of the dead is taboo. "He who was," is the reference,⁴ or "He who has gone away."⁵ "Would the name of a dead relative be thrown up against one in a quarrel?" I asked. "Never; but children might taunt one another with a death in the family. 'Your father is dead,' a child might jeer, or 'Your grandmother died the other day.'"

a place "whither they too needs must go constrained thither by the yearnings of their own hearts in the time of mourning." (*Zuñi Creation Myths*, p. 405.) Yearning for the dead would then mean following them, consequently anything prompting such feelings, a photograph of the deceased, for example, were better out of sight.

Of the orthodox primitive reason against being pictured, that it gives power over you to the possessor of your picture, I have still to hear in Zuñi.

¹ Cp. Stevenson, pp. 306, 310. The hair of all mourners is washed after four days.

² The smoking gum is put in a shovel and a blanket thrown over it and the head of the inhaler.

³ It is always cut off and burned, according to Cushing, and its ashes cast into the river together with the ashes of whatever possessions are burned. This hair incineration is a ritualistic survival, Cushing believes, of the early custom of cremation. (*Zuñi Creation Myths*, p. 336.)

⁴ Or, according to Cushing, he is referred to by a kinship term—the brother of so-and-so. ("On Zuñi Baptism," *Ann. Rep. Bur. Amer. Ethn.*, XXVI., p. 187.

In the Spanish archives Cushing found two or three soubriquets given for baptismal names "undoubtedly offered reluctantly in place of the true and sacred name, because some relative who had recently borne it was dead and therefore his name could not be pronounced aloud lest his spirit and the hearts of those who mourned him be disturbed." (*Zuñi Creation Myths*, p. 334.)

Today children are given the names of deceased kindred—in course of time. One little boy I know bears the name of an uncle deceased five or six years before his birth.

⁵ The Hopi word of reference to the deceased is *shilui*, "gone." (Hough, p. 131.)

Contrasted with the ceremonial attitude of forgetfulness towards the dead individual is, as we have already noted, the attitude towards the dead at large. They are prayed to not only for rain but for other benefits. Before each meal a bit of food will be scattered for them on fire or floor, and this is the prayer or one of the prayers accompanying the offering: "Here's something. Take it and eat it. Make our little boy (or girl) grow up and give us plenty of rain."

Some time after the *ko'haito* begins, in 1915 it was on October 30,¹ the sacred counting of forty-nine days to the arrival of the *sha'leko*, a *teniente* or member of the governor's staff announces from the house top that it is time to get wood and that four days later will be the day of the dead, *a'hapa awān dewa*, "dead their day". On that day, a portion of everything that is cooked is given to the dead. The men take the offerings to the river bank, the women put them in the fire. During the *sha'leko* ceremonial itself rolls of *he'we*, wafer bread are collected from every house by the *ko'yemshi* and taken to the river bank. These offerings are called *he'kusna* (*he'we*, *kusna*, dry). It is probable that in connection with many other Zuñi ceremonials similar offerings are made to the dead.

Before foot races or before a war expedition prayer plumes are or were planted for the dead. The night before the racers or warriors would go down to the river and there in the bank plant plumes and bury *he'we* for the dead. Then they would take four steps back, sit and listen, doing this four times. Then they would go in a straight line without looking back—were they to look back they would die—to the house of the manager of the race or of a priest of the bow. After each had smoked his cane cigarette of wild tobacco in the six directions he would be asked what he had heard. If he had heard the hoof beats of the Navajo horse or the roaring of the river or the hooting of an owl or the sound of lips smacking, all good signs, he would answer, "It is well." To hear nothing is a bad sign. The night before a deer hunt the dead are also "fed."

Of fear of the dead I have found no trace—the Zuñi would seem to have concentrated his fears upon living witches—nor are there any implications of individualistic ghost-walking—unless the

¹ October 31, I recall, is All Hallowe'en; November 1, All Saints Day.

"walking" of the patron saint may be so regarded. The little Spanish image is kept enshrined in a Zúñi house. Her wardrobe is continually replenished or enlarged by the gifts of devout Mexicans.¹ Only her shoes are worn out—for, they say, "she walks at night."

¹ She holds a disproportionately large buckskin purse in her lap. Gifts are made her by the Zúñi too, I think, but I am not sure. She has her "dance." It comes off, I was told, about the tenth of September and it is very largely attended, people from the outlying districts coming in for it. The image is carried in procession about the pueblo by the girls. To some her name is unknown, others call her the "Saint of Guadalupe."

Since writing the above I learn from Cushing's *Zúñi Creation Myths* (p. 338) that the image of Our Lady of Guadalupe was carried off from her church by vandal Americans. The figure carried in procession is St. Francis. (One of my Zúñi acquaintances had remarked to me upon the masculine traits of the image without being able to account for them.) The "Saint's dance" which occurs after the harvest Cushing considers an eclectic ceremonial, being not only a Catholic saint's day but a Zúñi feast of the dead. I have as yet failed to get evidence for this interpretation.

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